

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15  
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-12 EB-08  
TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05 L-03 H-01 ARA-10 /100 W  
-----018910 221202Z /50

R 220846Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BISSAU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1254  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BISSAU 0757

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, MOPS, EFIN, EAID, CG, PU  
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS ON RECOVERY EFFORT ON ZAIRE

REF: (A) STATE 140672, (B) STATE 148408, (C) STATE 150472

1. INITIAL APPROACH ON THIS SUBJECT MADE ON JUNE 15  
TO MINFORAFFAIRS SECRETARY-GENERAL ALEXANDRE NUNES  
CORREIA. ITEM CLEARLY OF MOST INTEREST TO CORREIA WAS  
COMMENT THAT U.S. ACTION IN ZAIRE WAS DESIGNED TO BOLSTER  
IMMEDIATE SECURITY OF SHABA AND IS NOT TO BE INTERPRETED  
AS PRECEDENT OR IMPLICATION OF ANY USG COMMITMENT TO  
ANY BROADER AFRICAN MUTUAL SECURITY PLAN. CORREIA EX-  
PRESSED SATISFACTION AT THIS STATEMENT OF U.S. POSITION  
AND SAID THAT IT WAS OBVIOUSLY CORRECT.

2. WE THEN DISCUSSED GENERAL ZAIRE SITUATION, WHICH  
INEVITABLY LED INTO SUBJECT OF ANGOLA. CORREIA, AC-  
CURATELY REFLECTING GOGB ATTITUDES TOWARDS ZAIRE, CLEARLY  
NOT HAPPY WITH WESTERN INTERVENTION TO DEFEND  
"CORRUPT REGIME". HE STATED THAT GOGB WILL NEVER  
PARTICIPATE IN AN INTER-AFRICAN INTERVENTION FORCE,  
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BUT THAT GOGB RECOGNIZED SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF EVERY  
GOVERNMENT TO SEEK EXTERNAL AID. HE EXPRESSED SOME  
IRRITATION AT SUDDEN INTEREST IN SOME CIRCLES TO  
PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO DEFEND "CORRUPT  
REGIMES" WHEN THERE HAD BEEN AND IS NO CORRESPOND-  
ING INTEREST IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLES FIGHTING  
FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE. CORREIA MADE DISTINCTION

BETWEEN DEFENSE OF "CORRUPT REGIMES" AND DEFENSE OF AFRICAN PEOPLES, BUT DREW NO SPECIFIC POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM THIS DISTINCTION EXCEPT TO SAY THAT GUINEA-BISSAU WOULD, OF COURSE, ALWAYS BE READY TO HELP ANGOLA.

3. CORREIA THEN ASKED WHETHER USG HAD CONFIDENCE IN MOBUTU. THIS LED TO DISCUSSION IN WHICH I TRIED TO EXPLAIN COMPLEXITIES OF ZAIRIAN SITUATION. I AM NOT CONFIDENT IT WAS COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL. CONVERSATION THEN TURNED TO ANGOLA, BUT AS THIS WAS ALSO NOT VERY PRODUCTIVE IT ENDED FAIRLY SOON. CORREIA INSISTED THAT TROUBLES (HE ENERGETICALLY RESISTED ANY IMPLICATION THAT SITUATION IN ANGOLA IS A FORM OF CIVIL WAR) WERE CAUSED STRICTLY BY EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED BANDITS AND LUANDA GOVERNMENT WOULD RESOLVE PROBLEM IN TIME.

4. FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF REFTELS (B) AND (C), I RAISED SUBJECT AGAIN WITH MINFORAFFAIRS VICTOR SAUDE MARIA ON JUNE 19. AS WITH NUNES CORREIA, MOST INTERESTING POINT TO MY AUDIENCE WAS USG VIEWS ON ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE. SAUDE MARIA EMPHASIZED THAT GOGB PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDS AND ACCEPTS ANY ASSISTANCE ANYONE WISHES TO GIVE ZAIRE, TO ASSIST IT WITH INTERNAL PROBLEMS. SAUDE MARIA NOD-CONFIDENTIAL

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DED IN AGREEMENT AS I DISCUSSED USG VIEW ON DANGERS OF CONTINUED UNSTABLE ZAIRE-ANGOLA BORDER SITUATION, AND AGREED WITH GENERAL PRINCIPLE THAT A LONG-TERM SOLUTION PROMISING SECURITY TO BOTH COUNTRIES IS NECESSARY.

5. INTERESTINGLY, SAUDE MARIA REFERRED TO THE FNLC INVADERS WITH SOME ASPERITY. HE SAID THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES ARE NOT CLEAR TO OUTSIDERS AND THAT MILITARY ACTIVITIES SUCH AS THEY RECENTLY INDULGED IN, WITH THE CONSEQUENT DESTRUCTION AND LOSS OF LIFE, WITHOUT FIRM POLITICAL OBJECTIVES ARE SENSELESS AND IRRESPONSIBLE. (AS RESULT OF THEIR OWN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL THIRTEEN-YEAR GUERRILLA WAR, GUINEA-BISSAU LEADERS TEND TO ADOPT AN AVUNCULAR ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER PUTATIVE GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS, WHICH THEY COMBINE WITH AN AVERSION TOWARDS VIOLENCE FOR ITS OWN SAKE).

6. WHAT REALLY BOTHERS SAUDE MARIA, AND WHAT HE TALKED ABOUT AT SOME LENGTH, IS PRESUMPTION BY OUTSIDE COUNTRIES OF RIGHT TO DISCUSS AND DECIDE

ON QUESTIONS OF AFRICAN SECURITY. (HE DIFFERENTIATED BETWEEN PARIS MEETING AND BRUSSELS CONFERENCE DEALING WITH ECONOMIC AID TO ZAIRE.) HE SAID THIS WAS A SHAMEFUL EVENT TO OCCUR IN AFRICA'S 18TH YEAR OR SO OF INDEPENDENCE, AND NOT TO BE TOLERATED BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. HE DISCUSSED GENERAL THESIS THAT AFRICAN PROBLEMS MUST BE RESOLVED BY AFRICANS, AND SAID THAT THE UPCOMING JULY OAU CONFERENCE WOULD CERTAINLY WRESTLE WITH ANGOLAN-ZAIRIAN BORDER QUESTION AND QUICK RESULTS ARE NOT TO BE EXPECTED.

7. IN DISCUSSING ZAIRE QUESTION, SAUDE MARIA WENT OFF ON TANGENT ABOUT CURRENT FRENCH POLICY IN AFRICA. HE EXPRESSED GREAT SADNESS AT FRANCE'S CURRENT IN-CONFIDENTIAL

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CLINATION TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN AFRICA AND SAID THAT IT WAS A PITY THAT FRANCE WAS NOW LOSING THE GREAT RESPECT WITH WHICH SHE HAD BEEN HELD BY HER MANY AFRICAN FRIENDS. SAUDE MARIA, CLAIMING TO BE SPEAKING PERSONALLY, COMMENTED THAT GUINEA-BISSAU, FOR INSTANCE, WOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER FUTURE PARTICIPATION AS OBSERVER IN THE ANNUAL FRANCOPHONE CHIEFS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN PARIS.

8. WE CONCLUDED DISCUSSION BY AGREEING IN GENERAL TERMS THAT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS WAS TO BE DEPLORED. IT WAS CLEAR I WAS REFERRING TO CUBANS AND SOVIETS BUT SAUDE MARIA NEVERTHELESS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE.  
MARKS

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